

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2294
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJ: ITALIAN COMMUNISTS HOLD CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

SUMMARY. OVERSHADOWED BY DEVELOPMENS CONNECTED WITH THE MORO KIDNAPPING, THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) HAS HELD ITS FIRST CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) MEETING SINCE THE RESOLUTION OF THE RECENT POLITICAL CRISIS. SECRETARIAT MEMBER PAOLO BUFALINI DELIVERED THE OPENING SPEECH IN WHICH HE NOTED THE POLITICAL ADVANCE THE PCI HAS MADE AND SUGGESTED THE NEED TO UPDATE THE PCI'S ORIENTATION AND MODE OF THINKING IN THE WAKE OF ITS ENTRY INTO THE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1947. IN HIS
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REMARKS, BUFALINI CRITICIZED THOSE WHO HAVE CHARGED THAT THE MARXIST-LENINIST MATRIX IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TERRORIST EXPLOSION IN ITALY, AND HE ENGAGED IN AUTOCRITICISM FOR PAST PCI COMPLACENCY IN THE FACE OF INCREASING REBELLION FROM THE EXTREME LEFT. FEW PARTY LEADERS PARTICIPATED IN THE GENERAL DEBATE WHICH WAS CURTAILED AS THE RESULT OF THE RED BRIGADES' ALLEGED SEVENTH MESSAGE REPORTING

THE DEATH OF MORO. END SUMMARY.

1. OVERSHADOWED BY DEVELOPMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE MORO KIDNAPPING, THE PCI HELD A CC SESSION ON APRIL 17 AND 18. THIS WAS THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CC SINCE THE RESOLUTION OF THE RECENT POLITICAL CRISIS WHICH SAW THE PCI ENTER THE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1947.

2. SECRETARIAT MEMBER PAOLO BUFALINI DELIVERED THE OPENING SPEECH WHICH ADDRESSED THE THEME QUOTE THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY AND FOR THE FULL AND RAPID APPLICATION OF THE AGREEMENTS OF THE MAJORITY. END QUOTE. TAKING NOTE OF THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION EXISTING IN THE COUNTRY IN THE WAKE OF THE FORMATION OF THE NEW PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY, BUFALINI STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE PCI TO ADJUST QUOTE ITS ORIENTATION, ITS MODE OF THINKING AND OF FUNCTIONING TO A QUALITATIVELY NEW SITUATION IN WHICH IT IS NO LONGER PART OF THE OPPOSITION, BUT WHILE NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE GOVERNMENT, IS PART OF THE MAJORITY AND THEREBY GIVES TO THE GOVERNMENT ITS CRITICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE REPORT, PUSHING IT AND ASSISTING IT IN REALIZING THE AGREED-UPON PROGRAM. END QUOTE. AT THE SAME TIME, BUFALINI NOTED THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH THE CRISIS WAS RESOLVED FALLS SHORT OF THE PCI'S OVERALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OBJECTIVE, OBSERVING THAT QUOTE IT IS THE FIRST STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF A CHANGE THAT IS THE FULL COLLABORATION AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR FORCES WHICH WE BELIEVE NECESSARY END QUOTE. BUFALINI POINTED TO THE FACT THAT THE PCI, WHILE NOT HAVEING DIRECT GOVERNING RESPONSIBILITY, NOW HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTICIPATING IN THE POLITICAL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

3. NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, BUFALINI DEVOTED A SUBSANTIAL PORTION OF HIS SHEECH TO THE IMPACT OF THE MORO KIDNAPPING. DESCRIBING THE EPISODE AS A CRIME AGAINST THE POLITICAL CHANGE OCCURRING IN THE COUNTRY, BUFALINI REITERATED THE PCI'S STRONG POSITION AGAINST ANY DEALS WITH MORO'S CAPTORS, NOTING IN A POSITIVE MANNER THE FIRMNESS AND THE AWARENESS OF THE GENERAL INTERESTS OF THE STATE WHICH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THUS FAR. HE ALSO MADE REFERENCE TO FORCES AND GROUPS, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL, INTERESTED IN QUOTE DESTABILIZING END QUOTE ITALIAN DEMOCRACY. (COMMENT: THE MENTION OF EXTERNAL FORCES COULD BE A WEILED REFERENCE TO THE U.S. SINCE THE LEFT HAS LONG POINTED TO ALLEGED AMERICAN ATTEMPTS TO DESTABILIZE ITALY.

END COMMENT.)

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4. IN HIS SPEECH, BUFALINI REJECTED CHARGES THAT HE
ROOTS OF ITALIAN TERRORISM CAN BE FOUND IN THE MARXIST-
LENINIST MATRIX AS HAS BEEN CHARGED BY SOME DC POLITICALS
AND BY SOME JOURNALISTS. HE ALLEGED THAT THIS IS PART
OF A MORE GENERAL CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AT GIVING A DISTORTED
PICTURE OF PCI POLICIES AND POSITIONS. BUFALINI ALSO
USED THE SPEECH TO DEFEND THE PCI'S INDEPENDENCE FROM
THE CPSU, NOTING THAT THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS DID NOT
AWAIT THE DEATH OF STALIN AND THE 20TH CONGRESS TO BECOME
A NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY. CONTINUING, HE STRESSED
THAT THE PCI HAS CHARTED A SEPARATE COURSE FOR ITSLEF,
DEVELOPING AND REVIEWING THE CONCEPTS AND THOUGHTS OF
LENIN. HE ADDED QUOTE RECOGNIZING THE GREATNESS OF
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LENIN, WE DO NOT DENY THAT EVEN HE COMMITTED SOME POLITICAL, PRACTICAL AND THEORETIC ERRORS. END QUOTE. AS FOR STALIN, BUFALINI STATED THAT THE PCI QUOTE DOES NOT FORGET CERTAINLY THE AUTHORITARIAN ABERRATIONS OF HIS LEADERSHIP, THE ERRORS AND THE HORRORS THAT WERE COMMITTED UNDER THIS LEADERSHIP, NOR THE VIRTUAL SCHOLASTIC AND DOGMATIC PARALYSIS THAT MARXIS SUFFERED IN THE USSR AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT. BUT WE MUST ALSO RECORD THAT DURING THE STALIN LEADERSHIP, EVEN THOUGH THROUGH ERRORS AND HORRORS, THERE WAS CARRIED OUT AN ENORMOUS WORK OF TRANSFORMATION OF ONE PART OF THE WORLD, THERE WAS GIVEN THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM AND NAZISM, AND THERE WAS ADVANCED, EVEN THOUGH WITH LIMITS AND CONTRADICTIONS, FROM 1935 ONWARD THROUGH THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE POLICY OF THE POPULAR FRONT, AND OF ANTI-FASCIST, DEMOCRATIC, NATIONAL UNITY. THIS WE RECORD NOT TO NEGATE THE GUILT OF STALIN OR EVEN CERTAIN ERRORS OF LENIN, BUT TO SUGGEST TO OUR CRITICS SOME CAUTION AND OBJECTIVITY. END QUOTE.

5. REFLECTING ON THE PCI'S POLICIES OF RECENT YEARS, ESPECIALLY IN DEALING WITH THE INCREASING PHENOMENON OF LEFTIST TERRORISM, BUFALINI WAS CRITICAL OF MISTAKES WHICH HAD BEEN MADE. HE NOTED THAT THE PCI HAD NOT PAID ENOUGH ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS LEFTIST TERRORISM PRESENTED TO THE STATE AND CRITICIZED A PCI TOLERANCE OF AND EVEN SUPPORT FOR CERTAIN FORMS OF VIOLENCE AND CONTESTATION COMING FROM LEFTIST ELEMENTS. IN PARTICULAR, BUFALINI CONFESSED THAT THE PCI HAD BEEN QUOTE LATE IN RECOGNIZING THAT THE STRATEGY OF TENSION, BEGINNING IN 1972, WAS NOT CARRIED OUT ONLY BY RIGHTIST ELEMENTS BUT ALSO, AND ALWAYS IN AN INCREASING WAY, BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FORCES COMING FROM THE LEFT. END QUOTE.

6. THE DEBATE FOLLOWING BUFALINI'S SPEECH WAS CURTAILED AS A RESULT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MORO KIDNAPPING. ONLY ONE SENIOR PARTY OFFICIAL (AMENDOLA) PARTICIPATED IN THE DEBATE, AND A REVIEW OF HIS AND THE OTHER INTERVENTIONS DID NOT REVEAL ANY SUBSTANTIAL DIVERGENCIES FROM THE LINE BUFALINI HAD TAKEN. IN LIEU OF A CONCLUDING SPEECH SUMMARIZING THE DEBATE OF THE CC, BUFALINI PRESENTED A BRIEF STATEMENT WHICH, INTER ALIA, NOTED THAT IN THE EXISTING EMERGENCY SITUATION, THERE IS AN EVER-INCREASING NEED FOR UNITY OF ACTION AMONG THE NATION'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES. GARDNER

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Message Attributes

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